1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

6

INTERVILLAGE GAMES

777 526 THE intervillage athletic meet (*tcĭrkona*) which was one of the most important occasions of Papago life ranks fundamentally as a food ceremony. Its purpose has been much obscured by the practical features of gambling and merrymaking, but actually the luck which it brought was rain and therefore crops. The races themselves were not considered rain bringers, as they were in some of the Pueblos, but the winners brought luck, which in the Papago mind was always rain, to their own locality. And the singing which preceded the meet was a definite rain charm, paid for as such by the village whose name was mentioned in the songs.

526 The whole performance was an elaborate one in which the challengers offered to the challenged a set of rain-bringing songs, with dancing and paraphernalia which raised them almost to the rank of an operetta. For this offering they were paid in food. Then came the athletic contest, in which both contestants bet all the accumulated goods of a year. Those who had paid for the singing might easily win back their investment and leave the challengers bankrupt. Goods changed hands on such a large scale that this betting contest might almost be said to take the place of a market. It was certainly the most important occasion for economic exchange.

The chief contest was a race. It might be one of the long kickball races of the Southwest, where two or three men on each side kicked a ball over a course of ten or fifteen miles and return, or it might be a relay race where all the men on each side spelled each other over a course of a half or a quarter mile, some men running two

[p. 116]

1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

or three times. After the men's race there might be a woman's game of double ball and a woman's race.

The parties to the meet were not single villages, but village units consisting of a parent village with all its daughters and its "wells." Two such units might have a standing contest which carried on for years, each challenging alternately. But occasionally several units joined together to challenge another group: two whole dialect divisions might find themselves arrayed on opposite sides, or one division against the Pima.

Plans were made at the beginning of the summer, when the people assembled at the "field" village before they separated. Then, if there were no regular contest in progress, the runners or their families suggested to the game leader that they felt ready for a meet. The game leader presented the matter to the village council, who, perhaps, tested the runners to make up their minds and then decided whom they would challenge and what the race should be. Then the game leader paid a formal call on the game leader of the opposite side to convey the challenge and settle details.

The runners practiced all summer under the supervision of the game leader or some trainer chosen by him. There was no pay for such work, since the trainer was helping to win for his village and would share in its betting gains. The village elders, all of whom were vitally interested in the outcome, frequently advised and encouraged the runners.

THE SKIPPING DANCE

Beside training its athletes, the village prepared a musical performance to be presented to its opponents. Of these performances, the most elaborate was the skipping dance (*tcĭrkona*). The word means a motion exactly like that of children skipping along a sidewalk. But the performance was not merely a dance; it was a rudimentary form of opera. Some singer dreamed a series of songs, referring to a visionary experience of his own. Then he trained a number of girls and boys to perform dance evolutions, carrying effigies which referred to his dream. Records tell of singers who were famous for wind songs, ocean songs, cloud songs, crane songs.

J: Underhill F-5 (1931-1935)1946 NII28 Papago NII28

There were only a few such singers in the country, and the challenging village might have to send for one from some distance. He worked without pay, other than his food and the fame he received. He selected a number of boys and girls who had agile bodies and the great desideratum, long glossy hair. These he trained in the dance maneuvers, and meantime, the older men learned his songs and made the effigies under his direction. Often he required elaborate representations, which might take months to produce. Reports mention cranes made of raw cotton or smaller birds of painted wood mounted on sticks which could be waved as though the birds were flying. Sometimes there were rainbows of painted buckskin, cloud symbols of cotton, and flowers of wood or vegetable matter.

The men of the village met frequently to sing songs which would give their side good luck in running. Toward the end of the practice time they sang every night. One or more shamans sat with them to "see" whether their opponents were working any evil spells and also to work spells on their own behalf.

Ten days before the final event a bundle of sticks was sent by messenger to the opponents. On the tenth day the challengers started, men, women, and children, taking their effigies, dance costumes, and all the property they could afford to bet on the game. They planned to arrive at their opponent's village on the day before the games and to camp outside it. From this final camping place they sent into the village two messengers in war array. All accounts heard assumed the use of the horse and of the lance, and even called this formal challenge by a Hispanicized term which sounds like "harlequinade." [1]

The messengers had their faces painted black, as did warriors and the announcers for the drinking ceremony. "Black means madness or dizziness."(9) One was on horseback, carrying a lance, his other clothing being the most elaborate he had. The other, also with black face, was on foot. They presented themselves at the race track, where the man on horseback stood up in his stirrups and delivered his message. The villagers, who had gathered to receive

[1] Although the challenge was in the form of play, it seems probable that it symbolized the real hostility and fear once felt by the contesting groups. If they belonged to different dialect divisions, this might be the only occasion when they met, and they surrounded it with formalities.

1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

him, pelted him with dried squash stems, which have a sharp calyx. Then they chased both messengers out of the village. Later another messenger was sent, his face being black only from the eyes down. He viewed the race track to see that it was not bewitched, and he, also, was chased out of the village. After this the challengers entered, singing and dancing.[2] The hosts, after the entertainment, gave them food.

The Papago villagers might chase the messengers almost back to the camp of the challengers. That night the women of the challenged village came out to sing for the challengers and to make them welcome. They sang "any songs they could remember," but as lively ones as possible.

SONGS BY WOMEN OF THE CHALLENGED VILLAGE

1. I tied up the wind;
   Far yonder I tied it up.
   On Toad Mountain I sat tying it.
   There, before me, the mountains stood,
   With haze on their summits.(9)

2. Under Baboquiviri
   I lay down to sleep.
   Something frightened me.
   Alarmed, I jumped up,
   Looking in all directions.(9)

Before dawn the dancers from the visiting village painted their bodies and made ready the dance paraphernalia. Then, with blackface messengers at their head and the dancers following, the whole

[2] Bandelier, a Jesuit missionary, gives similar details in connection with a challenge to pelota among the Acaxee, about 1600. The contest, in this case, was held on the ball ground of the challenging village. For four nights previously, there was singing which appears to have been a song cycle. It was started each night by two armed warriors who appeared on the walls of the ball court and issued a summons. The people then entered, singing and dancing. On the day of play, these warriors mounted the walls and the villagers entered as usual. "As they were about to dance, the visitors came in from one side, dressed and armed as for battle and began to shoot blunt arrows at the two warriors on the walls. The warriors tried to avoid these or ward them off with their shields but they were forced shortly to withdraw and were followed by the dancers, the visitors left in possession of the ground." (Beals, 1933, p. 13.) In both cases it is the challenged side which finally holds the field, though in the Papago case this is the host village, in the Acaxee case, the guest village.

1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

With his fine club, is drunk;
He is drunk with it,
He is drunk with it.(9)

17. Over there came one
On the flat land.
There sounded stamping,
At Tecalote, Big Coyote,
Having killed an Apache,
Sang.
Upon the flat land
There sounded stamping.
On the mountains
There sounded rattling.
At Wupatahi, Big Catclaw,
Having killed an Apache,
Sang.
Upon the mountains
There sounded rattling.[8]

After each song, the elders of the visiting party appointed someone to receive the gifts, provided by the men sung for. An enemy slayer went to an enemy slayer; a headbearer to a headbearer. The present given for the fields was received by the very old man of the visiting party. Those designated to receive gifts did not go to get them themselves, but sent their women with carrying baskets. It was a game for women of the host village to chase and pelt the visitors as they went off with their booty, upsetting pots of syrup over their heads and aiming tortillas at their faces. The wives of the hosts sometimes danced and made motions illustrative of their husbands' exploits while the names of the men were being sung.

RACING

When the hosts had made full payment for blessings received, they had a chance to win back their investment by betting on the race. If the preliminaries were over by noon, this might take place the same day. More often it was postponed to the next morning, and the intervening time was occupied in making bets. Wagered

[8] For a Pima naming song similar to this and the previous one see Russell, p. 285.

1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

goods were placed in a pile, with a shaman from each side to guard them, lest they be bewitched. Men and women all bet every article they had with them, including their scanty clothing. Informants remembered no betting ceremony for the men, but the following was reported for the women.

During the meal after the dance an old woman from the challenged village came dancing into the camp of the challengers, carrying on her head a bundle of wagered goods. She sang:

All the stakes
I am carrying on my head.
Tied in a bundle,
I carry them on my head.(19)

A woman of the challengers' camp took the bundle from her and danced in the same way. Then the wagered goods of the challengers were matched with it. There was never any betting between the sexes: women bet with women, and men with men.

When all the wagered goods had been collected, they were placed in a pile, matched two by two. While shamans of both sides guarded the pile, their men gathered in their respective camps, each group to sing songs for its own runners. The same songs usually applied to both running and kickball. Even songs designed to weaken an enemy in war could be used. However, one of the sets obtained was declared by informants to be for running, the other for kickball, and therefore they have been so classified.

SONGS FOR RUNNERS[*]

18. It is evening and I sing.
Here I shall run;
Here I shall rush out quickly.(39)

19. Toward the west songs are sounding.
Then I, much stirred,
Come forth and run;
The wind blows hard;
It leads me by the hand;
I meet the sun
And throw it high [like a ball].(22)

[*] For Pima running songs see Russell, pp. 285, 298.

1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

526
539x

20. I come forth!
I come forth!
Bearing a cloud on my head
I come forth!(3)

21. The hawk laid out the racetrack;
The hawk laid out the racetrack;
On it the man won. Ah!

Wild, the man came here;
Wild, the man came here;
A hawk's heart he won. Ah!(22)

22. I am a great shaman.
Many things I can do.
I run, miserable I, I run,
Wearing a headdress of eagle down,
I run and run.(22)

TO CRIPPLE A RIVAL RUNNER

23. From the east
A black bear came;
This, my flesh,
All over trembled,
And toward the west
It trembled.

TO BEWILDER A RIVAL RUNNER

24. Deep night falls; overhead
A great cloud comes.(39)

SONGS FOR KICKBALL RACERS[1]

25. I speed my kickball.
Over the flat ground it runs.
Between the spreading branches and beyond
It settles down.(19)

The runner bids the ball run between the spreading branches and come out on the other side, not to stick there and have to be rescued and slow up the race.

26. A little woman shaman I!
I cannot find my light [crystal].

[1] For Pima kickball songs see *ibid.*, pp. 172–73.

1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

526
539

I go searching in vain.
Nearby in the east
The reeds stand in a row,
Among them I am searching.(19)

The shaman with his power makes sandy ground to impede his opponents.

27. Just yonder
Lies a stretch of sandy ground.
There I pass him [my competitor],
And loudly I challenge him.(19)

TO WEAKEN A RIVAL

28. Poor man!
Poor man!
I try to draw near the rainbow.
It is receding.(19)

29. Hard I am running, my friend.
There in the east nearby
Is icy water.
Wretched I!
I seem farther and farther away.(19)

30. Toward the west
Songs were sounding.
Excited, I rushed forth.
I met the bitter wind
And tossed it up [like a ball].

Toward the west
Songs were sounding.
Excited, I rushed forth.
I met the sun
And tossed it up [like a ball].(19)

31. At the edge of the flat land.
Here I come out and run.
On top of the mountain,
Here I come out and run.
Evening falls while I run.(19)

32. There lies the race track;
On it the hawk's heart he won.

1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

526 539*

The quiet man came forth,
And the hawk's heart he won
[Racing with the hawk].(19)

33. A little woman shaman
Sends her familiar, the gray dove,
To fly across me.
Yonder, in front of me, it is drawing close.(19)

34. Evening is falling!
Like an eagle I move
Back and forth.

Morning is standing!
Like a hawk I run
Back and forth.(19)

Though all these songs were charms for success, the shamans were expected to make special magic. This service was unpaid, as were all their public activities, "but they bet on the race like the others, and a clever shaman could make his side win and grow very rich."(19) The rival shamans sometimes indulged in a contest of fire eating and sword swallowing. Shamans of one side went through mimetic actions that stimulated the winning of the race, and two of them sometimes charmed the kickball by sitting down and rolling it between them, singing: 526 789

[539]*

35. We roll the kickball
Here on the flat ground,
Bringing good luck.(19)

When the time for the race arrived, each side took a stick and cut into it as many notches as they had runners. The stick was hammered down into the ground near the racetrack, with the idea of hiding the runners from their opponents. The shaman who hammered it sang:

[539]*

36. Whence comes the shaman
Who drives [the stake] into the ground
Till it disappears?
Here he comes.(19)

1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

There was no magic treatment of the runners themselves. The whole effort was to keep them safe behind the lines and guard them from bewitchment by the other side. In some of the last races which informants remembered, the runners were mounted behind men on horseback, who galloped up to the starting point with them at the last moment. The race, with the stick dice and the women's shinny game, lasted all day. At its close, the visitors gathered up their goods and left without ceremony.

The Papago still hold races between villages, though without much ceremony. The skipping dance and the naming songs have been entirely given up except when the former is presented as a spectacle for the whites.

1:/Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

Other ceremonies celebrated with the co-operation of church authorities are St. John's Day, the Day of the Assumption, and All Souls' Day. The writer saw St. John's Day at Santa Rosa. The church was decorated with paper flowers, and on the evening of the day (arrangements could not be made for the evening before, which was the correct time) the women sang the Rosary. Then a hired orchestra of Papago, with violins and guitars, took their places outside the church. The boys and girls danced in couples, a Spanish form of fox trot, until well after sunrise the next morning. Then a "chicken pull" was held. This is the Spanish *corso de gallo*, in which a live cock is buried to its neck in the sand and horsemen, galloping past, lean over and try to pull it out.

The feast of the Assumption was very similar, but without the chicken pull. On that night women put up a canvas shelter outside the church and cooked a huge meal of beans, tortillas, and boiled meat. Inside the church the Rosary was sung and then the young people danced all night. There were some villages in which this dancing continued three days.

All Souls has versions varying from the completely Christian to those with decided Indian flavor. It should be mentioned that all Papago now have Christian burial. Perhaps because their own treatment of death was so unceremonious, they have found room for the funeral practices of the whites more easily than for other religious services. Whereas the corpse was once thrust into a crevice and sealed in with rocks or housed, seated, in a cabin of stone, it is now laid in a coffin and buried, facing the east. Whereas there was only a hasty farewell, with the adjuration not to return, there are now prayers by a clergyman or at least a layman.

But the custom of placing gifts with the dead persists, or did in 1932. Expensive clothes and saddles are often bought, and the grave may be lavishly stocked with goods and food. Some families keep dishes at a grave from year to year, and one dish, seen by the writer was in the ancient ceremonial duck form. On All Souls' night a feast for the dead is set out in many a house, but the family does not share it with the departed in Mexican style. Papago fear of the dead is too strong for that, so the living leave the house and spend the haunted hours in church.

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

directed a war party and planned its strategy even if he was too old to do much fighting himself. 624 701

But there was often a younger man to head the actual fighting. It was difficult to get data on this field leader since the very oldest people were children at the time of the last fighting. But as in other cases, it would appear that the practice differed in different villages. In San Xavier and Komarik he was a different man each time. In Komarik he was chosen by the elders as the most capable young warrior, in San Xavier, he volunteered and got up a war party in the Plains fashion to take vengeance on the Apache for slain relatives. Archie had a more or less permanent field leader chosen for prowess and known as the Bitter Man, "because he would not give in to the Apache." Kuhatk had also such a leader and it was understood that when Kuhatk and Archie went on the warpath together, Kuhatk should lead "because it had been given them by Elder Brother to be the best fighters."

HUNT LEADER

The Papagos hunted deer, hare and rabbit, small rodents and birds. Most of this work was done by individuals or small unofficial groups. But deer was hunted officially for the cleansing ceremony in the autumn and there were communal rabbit drives when visitors were to be feasted, especially at the time of the drinking ceremony before the rains. For communal hunts of both kinds, there was a leader who set the day, chose the locality, called the people together at dawn, appointed the beaters and made the required speech. His title was tópetam, rabbiter. He passed his office down, as did the others, by instructing a younger man, usually a kinsman, and finally asking the council to ratify his appointment as the new leader. 224 624

GAME LEADER

The title of this official was tópetam tcitievi, rabbiter for games. Probably the hunt leader originally had the function, since the communal drive and the athletic contest require similar organization. But in many villages the office of game leader was so important that it was held by a special man. His duty was to make the arrangements for inter-village games, see that the runners were properly trained, take charge of the party on the march to the challenged village, lead the cheering, argue for his side in the matter of fouls, appoint the referees, see that the relay runners got off in the proper order. His ceremonial duty was the recitation of a speech before the contest began. 526 624

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

624 526 Like the war leader, this ceremonial official might have a younger assistant to lead the cheering and argue the possible fouls. The women contestants had a woman for this function "since it would not be right for a woman to argue with a man."

SONG LEADER

624 533 A man with a loud voice and a memory for songs was chosen to lead the communal singing, particularly at the liquor fermentation. He usually asked certain good singers to stand next to him and head the line.

THE COUNCIL

623 In every village, or even where two or three families were camping together, a nightly men's meeting was held. This was the real governing power of the community. It decided on communal activities: agricultural work, hunts, war, the dates of ceremonies, games with other villages. It approved the installation of a chief or of new residents in the village. "And if there was nothing to discuss, they would come together and talk." (21). Men reported whether they had seen tracks of enemies or of deer. Visitors from other villages were welcomed and questioned.

[689] Attendance was a duty for every man and in the myths a man who absented himself was dealt with by a deputation. There was no point at which a boy became officially eligible but when he seemed old enough to understand and wanted to go, some older relative [562] would take him. Women were not admitted but when something interesting was discussed, they would stand outside and listen. "But we didn't do it much, because our husbands came home and told [756] us." According to two informants, the shaman was excluded as a possible sorcerer (1).

There was a distinction between the men who formed the actual deliberative body and the listeners. The word s'tcu-amitcu't means wise, or able. It was not an official title but was applied to men who had shown themselves fit to take part in the council. In some villages these were selected by the Keeper of the Meeting (15, 11), who would test a promising mature man by having him make ex tempore, one of the usual speeches of admonition and seeing if he remembered all the points (21). "He must have good judgment and a quick understanding of what is said. The old men were always [554] looking out for people like that." In some villages no man was expected to speak unless he were a "ripe man", that is, had been through the purification incident on salt gathering or enemy killing (9). In others enemy killing was the qualification (25). Or

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

contacts of the southern villages made for more flexibility and disorganization than there was in the north.

CEREMONIAL PAYMENTS

The Papago had one ceremony which involved large payments between villages. Ostensibly they were for ceremonial services which brought blessing and rain but they performed, as well, two very practical functions. One was that the village making the payments could invest its harvest on a much wider scale than that permitted by family gifts and the other, that gift relationships were cemented with what might be called foreigners: the members of another village and even of another dialect group. The ceremony was the dance of greeting and blessing which preceded intervillage games.

Games were played between two village units or groups of units, the same opponents challenging each other alternately, year after year. The time chosen was autumn, when the crops were in and when there was not only leisure but goods for gifts and gambling. The challenging village always "sang for" its opponent, either a rudimentary operetta, in which costumed dancers performed to singing, or a series of songs which glorified the important residents of the host village. Songs of both kinds brought good luck which, according to Papago ideas of reciprocity, should be paid for.

When a village had been challenged and had paid it was etiquette for it to issue the challenge next year and be paid in turn. After that, either village was at liberty to pick out a new opponent but, as a rule, they continued together over a long period and established definite gift relationships. But occasionally, a village which had had a poor harvest would strike out in a new direction and sing for somebody "rich". Russell[1] mentions the Papago (probably the northern villages) singing regularly for the Pima, and some Papagos from Somerton (Sand Papagos?) came yearly in regalia, marched and danced with rattles for the Yuma.[2] But the wealthy agriculturists were too busy with their own affairs to need this form of exchange and the visits were seldom returned.

The visiting party arrived a day early, camped outside the host village and sent in a costumed messenger with a formal challenge to games. The messenger carried a bundle of sticks, each representing a household head in the visiting party, who would expect a gift. If the household head could not come, some younger male represented him, but gifts were made only to households, not individuals.

[1] Russell p. 171. [2] Gifford, 1933, p. 262.

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

524 For each ring caught, the player scores a point but if he catches all five, he scores ten. Scoring is done by moving pebbles from mark to mark along a helix, counter clockwise. In old times, the bottom of a basket was used for the purpose, and, if the "coyote track" design were used, the squares of the pattern formed the stopping places for the counters. Even now, when children mark the design on a piece of cardboard, they always make, at the central starting point, the plaited square with which a Papago coiled basket begins. The game was long or short according to the size of the basket, the final mark being called "menstrual hut" since these were always built away from the village, while the central starting point was Big House, or council house, which was the village center.

A variant of this was to toss a bone into the air and catch it on the end of a split stick. The bone was tossed high and two children, their sticks split into two or three openings, fought to catch it.

Boys tossed up a bundle of leaves or rags and shot arrows at it, the boy who hit it taking the arrows of those who missed.

Women and children played cat's cradle, of which some thirty versions were mentioned.

Even very young children used the racetrack, cheered and sometimes gambled on by their older relatives. "I ran every day," said an old woman, "until I was old enough to grind the corn." (fifteen years). "When I was not nearly as high as my father's shoulder said a man (2), my uncles used to bet on me. They said I would grow up to be a racer."

INTERVILLAGE GAMES

●526 In the good old days to which informants look back, there was an intervillage contest every year at kickball, long distance racing or relay racing. The same intervillage contests are reported for the Tarahumare,[1] Opata,[2] and for the Acaxee, another Piman-Sonoran group[3] The Papago games took place in November, when the harvest was in, but all the residents were still at the summer village However, the challenge had usually been issued in spring or even in the previous autumn. The contestants might be two villages in the same group, two groups, or one or more groups against the Pima. If villages from two separate groups had runners who wished to race, they never thought of doing so without the support of their partners. Thus for years the whole Archie group backed one runner who was at Mesquite Root and who ran successively against the Koloti and the Pimas.

---

[1] Culin, p. 672. [2] Ibid. 666. [3] Beals 1933, pp. 11—33.

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

Choosing runners was an elaborate matter since their backers risked all their small amount of property on them. It was the aim of every village to have fleet runners among its young men as the speeches show. A village which felt it came up to the mark might challenge another village or might invite its partners to witness the boys' speed and decide whether they would join in betting on them. Or a defeated side might select its most likely youths and have them trained. In any case, long and rigorous training was necessary. The runners practised daily, running as much as twenty-five miles. They ate no meat, honey or cactus syrup and in the morning before starting took nothing but water.

Some of the older men backing them must know the cycle of running songs and sing them daily. If this were done for him, the runner himself need not have a supernatural guardian but many of the most famous runners did have. Thus one man had been visited by a hawk who caused feathers to grow at his elbows and wrists. Another carried a piece of the rainbow, which made him unreachable, as the rainbow is.

The calendar stick gives several descriptions of challenges and the training of runners:

"A man invited his friend from Comobabi to the drinking ceremony at the Place of the Burnt Dog. The friend got drunk. Some people came from Plow-Land, southwest from the place of the Burnt Dog. They called the visitor by name, Garment-Falling-Down, and said, 'We know you can't beat us. Do you want to race again? Our horse is fast but even at kickball you can't beat us. We have good runners.' They kept taunting. Garment-Falling-Down sat still with his head down. The visitors, who were on horseback, rode at him. His host drove them off. He then invited Garment-Falling-Down back to his house to drink, where they got to talking. When the cactus liquor was all gone, Garment-Falling-Down went home. He kept thinking and from down in his heart he decided to race with the people from the Tecaloti region. That evening he said to his sons:

'I am now going to tell you what I have on my mind. From the beginning it says that if you have a son, as I have, make him get up in the morning and run, from the time the sun rises until it has been shining for two hours. Teach yourselves to run — you'll get strength that way. As Elder Brother said, that's the way strength began from the very beginning. Do this always from now on, and in the afternoon get your kickball and run. Early in the morning go out with your guns and look for the deer on the mountain. From them you will get strength. And I'll be watching to see when you have got enough speed.'

Thus he talked every evening and every morning. At dawn he

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

526 would wake up and sing the same songs that Elder Brother sang to get strength. When through singing them, he would say to the boys, 'It's morning, get up and go.'

After a long time he thought they had enough speed, so he called the other towns, his partners, and told them his plan. He set the date for the meeting at which to plan the games. At the meeting they agreed on the date on which Garment-Falling-Down should bring the boys and show their speed. He brought them to Carrying-Basket Mountain, and all assembled. A man from Mesquite, who had once been a very good runner, was to take charge of the boys and train them. He sent word ahead to have the track laid out. It was to be five miles long. He would go out and run with the boys, but he would only go a quarter of the way because he was now old. However, he would be there to urge them on. When they got there, he saw that the track was longer than he had said it was to be, but since the boys did not get tired he did not change it. When it was finished, the track was twenty-five miles long with the return. When the trainer felt sure they could run, they would place another runner about two hundred feet along the track. The boys would run and would pass the one with a handicap. They kept lengthening the track and increasing the handicap. Every night the trainer sang the old running songs, given by Elder Brother's trainer, Pure-Cactus-Seeds.

Then the boys' father went to Tecaloti and proposed to play. He said, 'I have found out what game to play, — kickball.' Garment-Falling-Down told them to invite all their partners. He said he would be back at a certain time to hear their answer. At that time the partners accepted. Garment-Falling-Down went to town to propose his plan. In the meantime their runners were training. Then the date was set."

The giving of the challenge included many formalities. A man from the challenging village rode to the challenged in the autumn or spring before the contest. In the case quoted he was the father of the runners, but the Keeper of the Meeting or any appointed envoy might go. In order to find his opponents at home he made his proposal at night in the council meeting. He was seated at the right of the Keeper and after the preliminary speeches he allowed a proper silence. Then he produced his own cigarette, handed it to the Keeper with the salutation, "Friend." The Keeper smoked, then the visitor, then the Keeper again. Then he made his proposal, "Let us see how fast runners our boys are."

Very often a race had as preliminary a dancing pageant, which might be called the Visiting Dance. (See Ceremonies. In Press.). The race might be followed by the Naming Ceremony, in which the visitors sang songs containing the names of the hosts. In both cases

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

the visitors were "paid for their entertainment" in goods. If they planned either of these elaborations, it would be proposed at the time of the challenge, the challenger saying, "We want to sing for you." This singing rarely took place without the subsequent race, so that "we want to sing for you" actually meant a challenge to a race.

The whole performance was not only a way of exhibiting prowess but definitely a means of getting material goods. The Papagos have been accused of exploiting their agricultural relatives, the Pimas, in this way.[1] They did the same for the Yuma at Somerton,[2] always making their visit at harvest season. Their skill at running and singing was made a weapon with which to fight hunger.

The challenge accepted, both sides trained their runners. Soon after harvest the challenger again visited the council of the challenged, again proffered the cigarette, and went over the proposition: "I have said that we would train our runners. We are now ready. I have come as I promised." He was answered: "It is well. You have come as you promised. We also have trained our runners."

Then the date was set: usually the conventional ten days ahead, the contest to take place on the eleventh. During this time both sides collected all the goods they were to bet and made the journey to the village of the challenged. "We filled the roads going along on our horses. Everybody was leading extra horses to bet and we had baskets and pots and buckskins tied on their backs. "We bet everything. Women would take off their dresses, men their shirts. Sometimes when people went home again, they had not a single pot or basket in the house. They would dig holes in the ground to serve food." (26)

All the stakes were placed in a pile which was guarded all night by shamans from both sides. The shamans "raced for us with their tricks all night". They performed feats of swallowing fire or sticks and of causing articles to come to them out of the air. Meantime in each camp singers, who knew the running or kickball songs, went through the whole cycle to make the opponents weak and blind.

"There was a shaman at Archie, called Something-Laid-There-Loose, who could shoot at a rainbow, cut off a piece and put it on top of a runner's head. Then that runner remained always the same distance ahead of the others, like the rainbow. He had done this for the best Archie runner, who was known everywhere as the champion. Mesquite Root wanted to challenge Archie, but their shaman advised them not to. "I can do nothing," he said, "against the Archie shaman. His knowledge comes from the morning star, but mine only comes from Elder Brother."

[1] Russell, p. 171. [2] Gifford, 1933, p. 262.

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

526 [756] The shaman received no compensation for his services to the runners. "He bet like the others and if they won, he won" (21).

[754] When the race began, no one was allowed within a hundred feet of the starting point because an evil shaman's power "could not fly that far", and thus the runners would be safe. As an extra precaution they were kept behind the crowd and no one knew when he was to run until the last minute. For one famous race they were brought from half a mile away on horseback, each sitting behind a horseman and leaping off just in time to start running (21).

In long distance races many men followed the runners part way and waited for them to return. The race was considered over at sunset, no matter where they were, though one "moonlight race" is recorded.

While the people waited for long distance racers to return, various smaller games might go on. Older people played the gambling games, always men against men and women against women. Young people raced, played kickball and double ball. When the runners returned, the people cheered. Men made a shrill sound and slapped the hand rhythmically over the mouth. Women ululated: "ki-yi-yi!" The whole pile of stakes was then handed over to the winning village or group and each individual retrieved his own stake with the duplicate tied to it.

There follow two accounts of races from the calendar stick:

"The Tecaloti people kept on training runners. In the middle of the summer they notified the former victors, "You've beaten us now we are ready to play again.. Tell your partners to start training your boys. We'll train ours."

All started training. Every once in a while the Koloti chief would come to see how the training was coming on. When the date was near, he came and said, "The time is nearly up." The two chiefs were conferring, the boys were training. The next month he came again and the date was set. Two days before the race all gathered at Carrying-Basket Mountain.

The next morning the Koloti arrived. The corrals were full of cattle, which they had brought to bet. The runners did not start until afternoon. There were only two, the eldest son of Garment-Falling-Down and a Koloti. The race started at four o'clock in the afternoon and was from Carrying-Basket Mountain to Aktcin, (a distance of twenty-five miles.) At six o'clock the runners were just at the other end of the track. Before they got to Where-Water-Whirls-Round it was sundown. The son of Garment-Falling-Down was two miles ahead. The horseman, following the best man, picked him up, rode forward, and said to Garment-Falling-Down, "Your son has won. I put him on my horse and brought him home."

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

"The Coyote people sang at Comobabi. The women wanted it. 526
The old women went to a man named Having-No-Pet and asked him to sing. They said that afterward the women would race the women. He agreed and started to practise singing. The old woman leader saddled up a horse, got dressed in her husband's pants, shirt, boots, spurs, and Mexican straw hat, and mounted. She also got a bag of silver fox skin, within which she had a bamboo cigarette. Then she went to Comobabi to the home of the rival she wanted to race. The women of Comobabi expected her and were all there. She dismounted, tied up her horse, and came over to them and sat down. A leading woman of Comobabi got up and took a fire brand which she placed in the center of the circle, in front of the visitor. The visitor took the cigarette out of her bag. They smoked. Then the visitor spoke, telling them that she had announced her visit and had now set time for the games. She said, "We will sing and afterward see how fast runners our girls are." The other woman made a speech of acceptance. She said, "What you said is true. You have come as anounced. Make ready your girls and I will get mine. How many days are to be set aside?" The visitor said, "We will have relay races," and the other agreed. Her companions then gave a woman's cheer.

They kept track of the days. The girls trained; they could eat nothing sweet, no meat and no syrup. They could eat only gruel and salt. In the morning they took only water; in the afternoon they ran.

When the days were up, they went up and camped close to Comobabi, where the singing was going on. The Comobabi women made up their bets. Their leader, carrying a bundle on her head, came dancing. The Coyote Village woman took it, and danced off with it. Then the Comobabi women furnished food and the Coyote women assembled their bets.

When all were ready, the girls lined up. The best runner for Comobabi and a young girl from Coyote were the starters. The Comobabi woman put her hair up over her head with a band and then let it fall back. The track was about half a mile long. The Comobabi woman won the start over the Coyote woman, and Comobabi won the whole race. The woman had bet their shawls,—they even took their dresses off.

A few days later the Comobabi leader wanted a sing and a race against Coyote. She wore men's clothes for her visit as her rival had done. She got a singer of eagle songs who lived at Comobabi. The races were like the others had been, but this time there was a foul. The Coyote people started a runner for a Comobabi relay instead of waiting for their own. The Coyote people lost."

3; Underhill E-5 (1931-1935) 1936
NU28 Papago NU28

how hungry you are. Wait till it has scum on it. So you will be a runner and not a fat man." 159x 264

When we had finished we did not wash the dishes. How could we, with no water! We scooped food out with our knuckles. The boys used two knuckles because men have time to eat. We girls used three because women must hurry and work. When we were through it was only my father who could wipe his fingers between his toes. That was because he was a warrior and had killed enemies. The rest of us wiped them on the ground and rubbed our hands together. I do not like water on my dishes even now. They feel so smooth. [701]

Then we made our toilet. We washed our faces in a little cold water, but we did not bathe. Rubbing yourself with earth does just as well. Then the older girls painted themselves with beautiful red paint, all in dots and splashes. I went out to play. 159x 615 302

I played with the boys and girls who were children of my uncles. Brothers and sisters, we call them. We had no clothes, any of us, but we were not cold. We went to a sunny place and made ourselves dolls of mesquite leaves tied with strings of corn husk for arms and legs and head. We had a little stone for the grinding slab and some sand for the corn. The boys had men dolls and they would take them away and say: "We go hunting." "Well, go," said the wives. Then the boys would hunt all around the village and find a deer bone. "Here is a deer for you." 159x 857 [291] [524]

Sometimes the boys went to get rats. They poked them out of the holes and hit them with sticks. Then we roasted them on sticks with the skins on. Good food, that used to be! [262]

Sometimes we went to run races. We had a good racetrack in our village. Our men had cleared a road that ran across the flat land as far as you could see, and every day they swept it with greasewood branches to keep off the thorns. They had a song: 159x 526 [533]

The hawk made the race-track
And on it we won
A-a-ah!

We ran with the hawk
And won a Hawk's heart
A-a-ah!

All our young men and girls practised on that racetrack so they could run fast against the other villages. We children ran, too. Every day I ran until I was ten years old and had to be doing the house work.

5: Castetter & Bell N-5 (1938-1940 1942
NU28 Papago NU28
Pima NU29

Pi Pa 276 182 When smoking individually, a man might do so merely for pleasure or to communicate with the Great Spirit. Thus, while out walking somewhere, he might sit down to smoke and blow the smoke upward as a kind of unexpressed or incipient prayer, meanwhile talking to the tobacco or the smoke. But, in such cases, he must always finish the cigarette; that is, smoke it to a short stub, then roll it into a ball and gently place it on, or stick it into, the ground. A Papago, while smoking, must talk to the smoke which carried his prayer, else it would have no virtue. A man in trouble always smoked, and it was customary to do so before engaging in any endeavor, either personal or collective, for this was looked upon as a great help. It was done either to obtain aid for specific things or for the general welfare, such as planting, seeking rain, securing good crops, curing, health, preparing for warfare, sports etc. In planting or otherwise caring for his crops, a man, while smoking, blew smoke over the field, asking the Great Spirit that his crop grow well, that he have a good crop and that his relatives might benefit thereby. A man planning to run a race against someone from another village might blow smoke toward that village. In this case he would not talk to the Spirit but would say to his opponent, "You are not a great runner, I can beat you." He might also blow smoke toward the Apache when preparing to go to war against them, or toward the Gulf of Mexico when preparing for a salt expedition. One could talk to the Spirit without smoking, but smoking was thought to be an aid.

Pa [241] Pe [526] Pa [231]

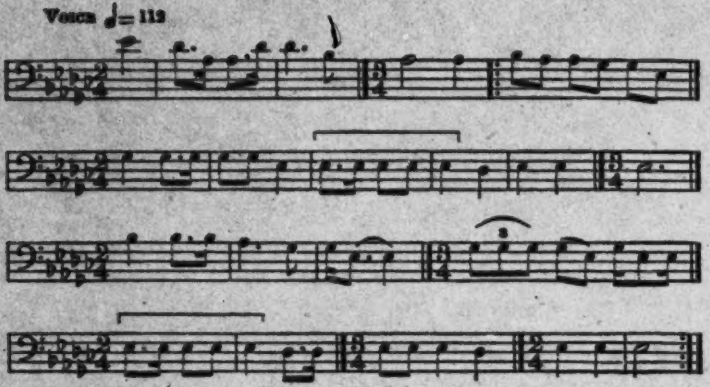
Pi 782 Pima informants said that to them everything was mysterious, and for this reason prayed to the darkness. At night a Pima would smoke and blow the smoke on his breast saying, "Kind darkness, give me good rest and good dreams and may nothing harm me." They also had great respect for the sun, well-nigh amounting to worship. In the morning the Pima would blow his smoke toward the sun saying, "Oh kind traveling sun, pity me. Give me the strength that whatever

6: Densmore E-5 (1920) 1929NU28 Papago NU28

X 533

No. 147. "The Eagle Is Talking" (Catalogue No. 930)

Recorded by SIVARIANO GARCIA



TRANSLATION

The eagle is on the highest point of rocks,
He is talking,
I was walking below and I heard the sound echo among the rocks.

Analysis.—The melodic formation of this song is unusual. The song begins with a half note on the highest tone of the compass. This tone is the keynote and it does not occur again in the song. The tone material is that of the second five-toned scale, and the interval of a whole tone between the seventh and eighth is prominent, as in several other Papago war songs.

326 At the last of the dances attendant upon the Limo it was made known when the races would be held. The races were the next event, and a reasonable time elapsed between the two. There was no dancing during this time.

SONGS OF THE KICKING-BALL RACES

The principal athletic contests of the Papago were the kicking-ball races in which each contestant kicked before him a wooden ball. Russell states that "the use of these balls in foot races is very widespread in the Southwest, and even yet we hear of races taking place that exceed 20 miles in length. The kicking ball, when of wood, resembles a croquet ball in size, but it is usually covered with a coating of creosote gum. These balls are made of mesquite or paloverde wood. . . . Stone balls . . . are also used, covered with the same black gum. . . . Each contestant kicks one of these balls before him, doing it so skilfully that his progress is scarcely delayed." [46] Only two men ran at a time. Sometimes they ran

[46] Frank Russell, op. cit., pp. 172-173.

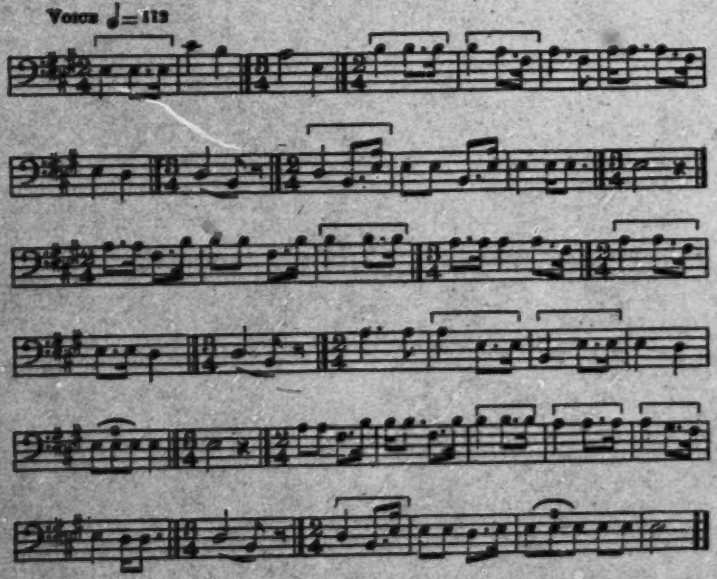
6: Densmore E-5 (1920)1929 NU28 Papago NU28

the entire distance in one direction and sometimes they ran to a given point and back again.

There is a tradition that a certain man wanted to be a good racer, so he ran every day, starting before daylight and returning when the sun rose. He worked very hard at this for a long time. One morning he met something on the road that said, "It seems as though you would never be a good runner but I will give you a song and perhaps if you sing this song you will win the race." The man learned the song, sang it, and won the race. Afterwards he used it as a dancing song in the Bat dance. He wore a feather of the blue hawk in his headband before he received this song, and believed that it assisted him in obtaining the song.

No. 148. "We Must Run" (Catalogue No. 978)

Recorded by MATTHIAS HENDRICKS



TRANSLATION

Now be ready, my poor brother, and we will start to run,
Now before us our nice ball goes far,
After it we run,
No matter what kind of ground there is,
We must run over it.

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910) 1912
NU28 Papago NU28

In 1881: A relative became crazy, killed his wife with a knife, and then himself. 159 173

In 1882: First *fiesta* in Mexican fashion took place at a rancheria which formerly existed where at present the Indian Oasis is. (This means that the Indians of Arizona began to adopt the social gathering in use among the Mexicans, without imparting any religious importance to the festival. A fiesta among Mexicans always includes dancing, which, in our time, has been adopted by the Papagoes of Sonora, but generally not in Arizona. On the occasion related, the people danced one by one in a circle.)

In 1885: A visit to a Pima feast. Many singers went, and many others, all well dressed. [527]

In 1887: An earthquake in the "flowers disappear" moon. [133]

In 1889: The Pima took part in a dance in order to secure cattle. This was in the "dry grass" moon.

In 1890: A feast at San Xavier in the "dry grass moon."

In 1891: San Xavier Indians came to dance at Kvitatk (near the "Pump-house" near Horseshoe).

In 1893: A foot-race at Kvitatk in "inner bone" moon (winter). The racers starting in the middle of the day, ran as far as Santa Rosa, returning at dark (about 8 P.M.). [526]

In 1897: Foot-races at Áktjin.

In 1898: Two nephews put in prison in Yuma for smuggling mescal brandy.

In 1899: Two relatives imprisoned in Tucson for stealing cattle.

In 1901: He was isolated at Tucson on account of small-pox in the family. [164]

In 1902: A foot-race at Tjeavólitak.

In 1903: A foot-race at Kvitatk.

In 1904: The purification of girls in the winter. [783]

In 1907: His friends put in jail for fighting at a sahuaro feast at Kvitatk.

In 1908: Many Papagoes that were attending the fiesta of San Francisco in Magdalena, Sonora, were imprisoned for resisting the Mexican authorities when being pressed into military service to fight the Yaqui. A chief from San Xavier went down to Magdalena and helped them to get out.

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910) 1912
NU28 Papago NU28

have done credit to any stage. It was a busy morning, and when the crowd saw us getting ready to eat our belated breakfast, they considerately said, "Let us retire that they may eat." Pablo and I seated ourselves near the fire, and it was a small matter that the rice had been burned during the activities of the morning.

After a while, we had them all back again. The implements used in a woman's game were offered for sale. They comprised a small object, consisting of two short, thick sticks from the cat-claw tree, linked together in the middle by a twisted leather string. This *óla*, as they call it, has to be thrown with a thin pole, slightly curved at the point, and the movement must be made by applying the point between the two connecting sticks and then casting it upward. The game consists in throwing the object so as to reach a certain goal, the opposing party trying to prevent it. At my request, the woman with the imitative gift induced four young girls to show me how the game was played, and they immediately prepared for the fray. The colored bandannas were disengaged from around the head and tied around the hips. The uncovering disclosed beautiful black hair, well-groomed *à la méxicaine*, parted in the middle, and hanging in two generous braids down the back. The next minute they all spat in their hands and smoothed their hair, then the game started. The girls played two against two. The óla was first thrown up in the air, the players standing ready opposite each other. The tactics of the opponents was to run with their backs turned against the others and strike the disputed ob-

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910)1912
NU28 Papago NU28

526 ject with their poles. Each game was played with much agility and lasted only a few minutes, the participants keenly enjoying the sport. Formerly as many as twenty women on each side took part in this game.

774 524 I ventured to take snapshots and, strange to relate, it was not resented. A boy showed me how to swing a bull-roarer, and we all had a good time. Though the 291 191 wearing apparel of these people and most of their utensils came from the white man's store, still, neither English nor Spanish was spoken, only Papago. They be- 609 haved something like natives who have not been much in contact with whites, and these "poor heathen" were the nicest Papagoes I met on my whole expedition. The entertaining crowd would sometimes retire as one man, then after a while they would return again; they were curious without being troublesome. One of the humor- 361 ous sisters told me that in the rancheria of Santa Rosa, 609 which was my next goal, there was much to be seen that would interest me, if I made friends with the principal men. She also had a house there, she said, which was at our disposal, and she gave us directions as to how to find it, for Santa Rosa was a big place.

361 It is, in fact, the largest summer rancheria in the Papago tribe, and people from several clusters of winter habitations gather here to the number of about five hundred. The houses are scattered over an area of nearly two miles square. Its native name is Kuátshi (Big Peak). I entered this old-fashioned rancheria with much expectancy of gaining further knowledge of the beliefs and customs of these people. Water from the

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910) 1912
NU28 Papago NU28

follow the words at that distance. In their enthusiasm they seemed to be trying to wring the rain from the gods, and above them all could be heard that wonderful soprano. Every time a new stanza came around, they intoned as is their custom the first words with all the power of their lungs, giving the singing a triumphant expression.

During the two nights of singing and ceremonies, the wine was getting ready for consumption on the third day, at which time people gathered outside the lodge to the number of some five hundred, including many who had not taken part in the exercises. Many came to drink wine at the houses of their friends and relatives, and had been invited from such distant places as Florence on the Gila River and San Pedro in Sonora, everybody first having been present at the distributing of the wine at the lodge.

Young boys on horseback had been in evidence in the morning, racing joyously with each other and raising dust wherever they went. Some of them were prematurely under the influence of liquor, the result of the inroads of civilization. It is characteristic of the primitive Indian to be strict and formal in his religious observances, but after the festival, when the gods have had their share, he, too, wants a good time and takes it. The rising generation, breaking away from their native customs, make no such fine distinction.

People came on horseback or in wagons, some of them in light carriages; one well-to-do Indian from the northern part of Baboquivari arrived in quite a

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910) 1912
NU28 Papago NU28

procure. The *carreros* (wagon owners) all seemed to be away, though expected back.

Through the kind assistance of the Japanese doctor I secured an acceptable interpreter, a pure-blooded Papago, Clemente, and finally, through a prominent business man, a wagon was engaged, which was to be driven by its owner, Alberto Celaya, an intelligent Mexican who knew the country, having been born and raised at Quitovac. Caborca being the last place for mail, I should from now on have to depend for news of the outside world upon some obliging traveller who, going westward, might bring along my letters and newspapers. For the first days or weeks one misses sorely one's mail, especially if interested in knowing what takes place on the rest of the globe, but after a while one gets used to being without news, and on an expedition of this kind it is far the best plan to go heart and soul into what is being done; a world of one's own is created for the time being, rich in events through the conquering of obstacles, the visiting of new places full of interest and the observations to be made, besides being a source of much delight to any one who opens his heart to nature.

After so much delay I was glad to get a start. About six miles from Caborca an old mezquite tree growing on the eastern bank of an arroyo is passed. It has the mark of a cross cut into the trunk, because this tree used to be the goal of the Papago ball players of Caborca; the judges are said to have been on horseback. A few hours later our wagon, which was guaranteed to be in first-class condition and looked it, suddenly gave us a

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910) 1912
NU28 Papago NU28

supply of salt for the Papago Indians, who still come here even from as far away as the Gila River. A few Mexicans also, of outlying places such as Quitovac and Sonoita, obtain this commodity from here. The main route followed by the Indians passes over Quitovaquita, Tinaja del Cuervo, and La Soda, and there is also a trail from the Tinaja del Cuervo direct to Quitovac.

Guadalupe pointed out to me the place where the Indian expeditions camp among the greasewood bushes close to the shore. He also showed me where the Indians, before attempting to gather the salt, had their ceremonial race on the deposit, running four times either forward and backward or one side up and the other down. He himself has been too much with Mexicans to consider any ceremony necessary for fetching salt, but at Chujubabi, where he often lives, he has seen Papagoes pass on their way to another deposit on the coast, called San Jorge, fifty miles from there.

Leaving their horses at the foot of the range of Chujubabi, the Indians would run on foot up the hills, nude but for a cloth around the loins and a ribbon tied around the head. Reaching the top, they would stop in a line all looking toward the distant salt, and every one would make a waving motion with the right hand, from out in toward the chest, one time only, and then they would descend again. The old men are left in charge watching the animals so that they do not drink water until the return of their owners. There is no water from there to San Jorge, the distance being covered by the Indians in a day and a half. This salina, which is said to be only a couple of

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910)1912
NU28 Papago NU28
Sand Papago

184 willow as material. Arrows were made from the arrow-
411 bush. Arrow-points of hard stone have occasionally been found in that country, but never stone axes.

184 They had foot-races and also practised the game of
[526] throwing with the end of a thin pole two short pieces of wood which are linked together. (Page 89.) In the
184 winter time they lived at a higher elevation in the moun-
221 tains where they erected grass huts. Once a year a jour-
[439] ney was made to Yuma to barter with the Indians there, and maize, tépari beans, and squashes were exchanged for baskets and sea-shells. Remnants of these people are
184 living at Quitovaquita and the Growler Well, both places
361 in Arizona. A few families are said to live near the railway station, Adonde, near Wellton, on the Southern Pacific line.

[pp. 333 to 343 not processed]

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910)1912
NU28 Papago NU28

mother and Sky is my father,' Íitoi answered. 'Help me to put the world in order,' Earth Magician asked him. Íitoi consented to this. They made the sun, the moon, and the stars, and then in their light they set to work. Earth Magician took two small beads of perspiration, which he changed into two spiders which walked around the world four times, tying the earth and the sky together at the edges.

"Then the two magicians made people out of earth and water, but they turned out to be bad and fought and killed each other. The makers turned the world over and made new people, who also killed each other. Four times in that way they made and unmade their work. 'There is something bad in the world,' they said. Earth Magician went around making holes with his stick. Blood came up and washed the earth, and they created new people. But Earth Magician's people were queer —some with one leg, others with big ears. Íitoi became angry over this and disowned them. Earth Magician also was angry and went to the underworld and stayed there. Íitoi remained here among his people singing, but they did not like him and killed him on four occasions, and each time he would be walking about again the next day."

Characteristic of their social life are two kinds of races, eight different games for men and three games for women. The games still flourish but the races are on the point of disappearing. The most important of the latter is a foot-race, run by two men, in which a ball usually made from mezquite wood is kicked along by

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910) 1912
NU28 Papago NU28

each contestant. The ball must not be touched by the hand. One or two men on horseback assist the racers in finding the balls and give them new ones in case their own break or accidentally are lost. The last great race of which I heard was given, eighteen years ago, east of the Quijotoa Range. According to a Mexican from Quitovac who was present, the Indians had brought herds of cattle, mules and horses, clothing and money, all to serve as betting stakes on the occasion. Fifty odd Indians kept admirable order. The two runners, who were nude but for a cloth around the loins and with a bandanna tied around the head, started northward early in the afternoon in the direction of Santa Rosa rancheria. They ran seventeen or eighteen miles before turning back. One of the runners became tired, which finished the race; then the assistants picked them up, giving each of them, in Mexican fashion, a seat behind the saddles of their horses, and in that way they returned to the starting point after dark. The winner was about thirty years old; the other, about fifty, had some gray hair. If my informant was correct, thousands of dollars were lost in bets. The Barajita rancheria alone came out two hundred animals short, and the Pozo Verde loss was no less. Many of those who lost had staked all their live-stock and the women wept. A race of less importance took place in the same region some seven years ago.

The Papago, as well as the Pima, was able to cope with the fierce Apaches more efficiently than were the Spaniards and Mexicans. The young men were trained from childhood for future combats with the enemy. It

17:Castetter & Underhill N.E-5 (1931-1934) 1935
NU28 Papago NU28

ritual songs. Then each separately approached the neophyte 783
and blew tobacco smoke over him, auguring success for his 276
future. In the case of a man who had killed an enemy, those who blew the smoke held in their mouths one of two roots, yerba mansa *(Anemopsis californica)* or an unidentified sweet-scented grass, according to the section of the tribe to which the neophyte belonged.

Corn meal was sprinkled on the sea during the cere- 788
monial expedition to secure salt. It was also sprinkled on the ground in front of the singers at the harvest dance. Finally, it was taken in the hand as an offering when a ceremonial favor was requested.

GAMES

The Papagos played the usual games common to the 526
Indians of the Southwest (8). Kickball was played by men with a sphere of mesquite wood *(Prosopis velutina)* about the size of a modern croquet ball. Or the ball might be a pebble embedded in a sphere of mesquite gum. Women played double ball, a form of shinny, with a "ball" made of two hanks of agave fiber cord tied together with two inches of string. Or they might use two deer knuckle bones in the same way. The stick was a peeled wand of ocotillo, slightly curved at one end.

The game known as *kinyiskuḥt* was like our parchesi, 524
played outdoors on a square the size of a room, marked out by stones and with smooth round stones as the moving pieces. Each move was decided by a throw of four dice. These were sections of giant cactus rib *(Carnegia gigantea)* about eight inches long with patterns marked with red clay and blue soot of creosote bush *(Covillea glutinosa)*. Women played dice with sticks made from the split halves of ironwood sticks *(Olneya tesota)*. The convex side of each was blackened with soot and the straight side left white. Each woman threw four and the score depended on the number of white and black sides which fell upward.

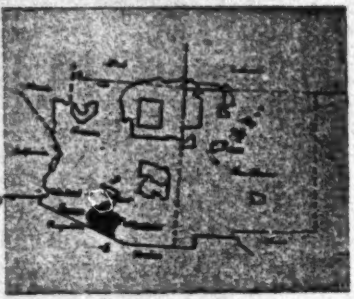
17:Castetter & Underhill N.E-5 (1931-1934) 1935
NU28 Papago NU28

524 The game of hidden ball was played by hiding a wild bean *(Phaseolus acutifolius)* in one of four tubes of cane variously marked in red and blue. All the tubes were filled with sand and the guesser had to determine which of them held the bean. Or the bean might be hidden in one of four mounds of sand. The "chips" for keeping score were corn kernels. The Papagos also played the "hand game" in which the members of one side hold sticks of two or more colors in their closed fists and the members of the other guess their position. The sticks were two-inch lengths of creosote bush, natural white or blackened with soot.

The ring and pin game was played with a ten-inch length of creosote bush as the pin. To its butt end was attached an eighteen-inch buckskin thong, on which were strung eight discs of dried pumpkin rind about three inches in diameter with an inch-wide hole in the middle. The game was to throw up the rings and, as they came down, run the point of the stick through as many as possible.

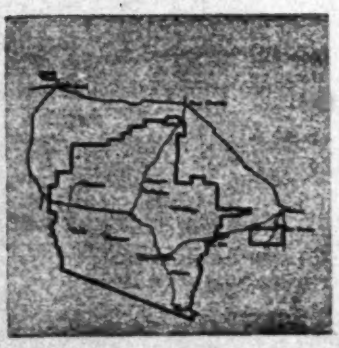
526 541 Dried pumpkin had another use, half play and half ceremonial. When one village was challenging another to games, two heralds came ahead of the main party. It was the custom of the challenged village to run the heralds out of town after their announcement by pelting them with dried pumpkin peduncles. This may have been symbolic of a war challenge.

526 857 Papago children played cat's cradle with lengths of agave fiber and cotton string. They made dolls of leaves stuck together with twigs, or sometimes of deer bones dressed in scraps of buckskin.



Lands held in trust for Indian Indian tribes by the U. S. government in the Southwest. (Papago reservations in black.)

Papago women playing at the ancient game of taka, which resembles field hockey.



The Papago, Gila Bend and San Xavier reservations and their highway connections.

Chairman of the Papago Tribal Council (far left of group) joins in ceremonies opening the last section of paved road across the main reservation joining Tucson and Ajo.

[Arizona Labor Camps]

466 means little because of tremendous variation in physical
362 form of southern Arizona labor camps, which has been discussed previously.

AGE

362 A few of these temporarily inhabited rural villages run by cotton farmers on their farms have been used a long time--up to 40 years. But most of them are quite new since the great gamble on expanded cotton production is of very recent date; mainly during and after World War II. Most labor camps in Pima and Pinal counties have had little time to deteriorate.

Because construction differs so greatly, figures on age of camps have comparatively little meaning in terms of camp quality. The average in 1950 seemed to be about 5 years--6 years in Pima county where some camps in use a long time lengthened the average, and 4 years in Pinal county where the main expansion in acreage has occurred in years immediately past.[1]

LEISURE TIME

512 For 6 days of the week, the pickers are in the fields
461 with the sun. On 5 days they quit work from about 3 p.m. to sun down, and are ready for sleep soon after eating an evening meal, although there is time for a little drinking
[529] or gambling for the men. On Saturday the evening is free after an afternoon shopping trip, and Sunday is a day of rest.

441 Cotton farmers show almost no realization that their
466 hands have any leisure time by providing recreational fac-
526 ilities. The only form of recreation provided in any of
519 the camps studied by the writer was a base-ball field.
529 These were generally simply cleared spots where ball could
527 be played, and employees furnished their own equipment.
ccc Only about a seventh of the camps seem to have had even this elemental form of reacreation.[2] Of necessity, much

---

[362] from only 8 farmers in both counties. Their investment
[466] averaged $4,487.50 per farm, but since one farmer of the group had two camps, investment per camp averaged only $3,988.89.

[1] Based on information on 28 camps averaging 5.3 years old.
Pima county: 17 camps studied averaged 6.3 years old.
Pinal county: 11 camps studied averaged 3.8 years old.

[2] 3 of 21 labor camps on which data was obtained.